

FBIS 109

DUBCEK SPEECH

RADIO CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN SLOVAK 1650 GMT 27 AUG 68 L  
(1520 KCS)

(ADDRESS BY CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY FIRST SECRETARY ALEXANDER  
DUBCEK FROM PRAGUE CASTLE--LIVE )

(TEXT) MY DEAR FELLOW CITIZENS, MEN AND WOMEN COMRADES! I FIND  
IT DIFFICULT TO FIND WORDS WITH WHICH I CAN EXPRESS GRATITUDE FOR  
THE ENORMOUS EXPRESSIONS OF CONFIDENCE WITH WHICH YOU HAVE OVERSHELMED  
THE (?COMRADES) FOR WHOM YOU HAVE BEEN WAITING .

YOUR HIGH MORALE, YOUR CIRCUMSPECT COURSE, THE (?ATTITUDE)  
AND THE FIRMLY EXPRESSED CONVICTION THAT ALL CORRECTLY ELECTED  
OFFICIALS WOULD RETURN TO THEIR VUNCTIONS WERE NOT A VAIN HOPE .  
WE ARE AGAIN AMONG YOU IN OUR WORK. (?WE THANK YOU). WE CAN AGAIN  
RENEW THE ACTIVITIES OF THE (?CENTRAL ) ORGANS OF OUR REPUBLIC,  
OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND OF THE GOVERNMENT, THE ACTIVITY OF THE  
NATIONAL FRONT . THIS ACTIVITY, LIKE THE LIFE OF OUR PEOPLE, WILL  
TAKE PLACE IN A SITUATION (WORDS INDISTINCT) (?NOT ONLY) ON OUR WILL.

(MORE)

27 AUG 1729Z JWG/BJK

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FBIS 112

FIRST ADD 109 (DUBCEK SPEECH)

X X X ON OUR WILL .

(TEXT) WE WERE AWARE OF THIS FACT TO A FULL EXTENT DURING THE ENTIRE TIME IN THE SAME WAY AS YOU FEEL IT AND AS YOU ARE AWARE OF IT --ALL OF YOU.

IT IS THE GREAT MERIT OF YOUR CIRCUMSPECTION , OF THE CIRCUMSPECTION OF THE PEOPLE OF OUR REPUBLIC , THAT YOU (?FOLLOWED) THE APPEAL OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, COMRADE LUDVIK SVOBODA, AND OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC ; AND THAT (WORD INDISTINCT) BIGGER CLASHES DID NOT TAKE PLACE AS WELL AS (WORD INDISTINCT) BLOODSHED. IT IS NECESSARY AT ANY PRICE TO PREVENT FURTHER (?DESTRUCTION) AND FURTHER LOSSES, BECAUSE THAT WOULD NOT ALTER THE RRAL SITUATION AND THE ABNORMAL SITUATION IN OUR HOMELAND WOULD BE PROLONGED . THE FACT THAT WE ARE DETERMINED TO PREVENT BLOODSHED DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE WANT TO PASSIVELY SUBMIT TO THE SITUATION WHICH HAS BEEN CREATED .

ON THE CONTRARY, WE ARE DOING EVERYTHING IN ORDER THAT WE MAY FIND--AND WE ARE CONVINCED THAT WE SHALL FIND --SPACE, WAYS , AND MEANS OF UNFOLDING AND TOGETHER IMPLEMENTING WITH ALL OF YOU THE POLICY WHICH WILL IN THE END LEAD TO A NORMALIZATION OF CONDITIONS. IN THIS CONVICTION , WE ARE BEING STRENGTHENED BY THE RESULTS WHICH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR STATE, PARTY, AND NATIONAL FRONT HAVE ACHIEVED WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WE HAVE NOW CONCLUDED IN MOSCOW.

ALSO, THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES WANT TO CONTRIBUTE TO A NORMALIZATION OF OUR RELATIONS.

WE ARE IN TODAY'S REALITY FACED WITH THE TASK OF FINDING PLACE, THERE IS TODAY AN AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE GRADUAL DEPARTURE OF TROOPS OF THE FIVE STATES FROM THE TERRITORY OF OUR REPUBLIC. HENCE, DISTRUST AROUSED IN THIS DIRECTION IS UNJUSTIFIED AND HARMFUL. THIS, THIS AGREEMENT, THIS STANDPOINT IS THE FUNDAMENTAL PREREQUISITE OF OUR ENTIRE FURTHER ROAD. WE HAVE AGREED THAT TROOPS WILL BE MOVED IMMEDIATELY FROM VILLAGES AND TOWNS TO AREAS RESERVED FOR THEM. THIS IS CONNECTED WITH THE EXTENT TO WHICH OUR OWN CZECHOSLOVAK ORGANS WILL BE ABLE IN INDIVIDUAL SECTORS TO INSURE ORDER AND NORMAL LIFE .

(MORE)

27 AUG 1810Z JWG/RG

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FBIS 119

SECOND ADD 109 (DUBCEK SPEECH )

X X X AND NORMAL LIFE.

(TEXT) THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC HAS IN THIS RESPECT ALREADY TODAY PROCEEDED TO (?TAKE) THE APPROPRIATE MEASURES, IN ORDER THAT OUR OWN ORGANS CAN IMPLEMENT MEASURES FOR REGULATING OUR CIVIL LIFE. IT WOULD THEREFORE BE VERY IMPRUDENT AND DANGEROUS TO HOLD UP, THROUGH ANY ACTIONS WHATSOEVER, THE MOVEMENTS, AND FINALLY THE DEPARTURE OF THE TROOPS OF THE FIVE STATES FROM OUR COUNTRY, BECAUSE THE (WORD INDISTINCT) AIM OF OUR ENTIRE ENDEAVOR IS TO EFFECT THE COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF THESE TROOPS, AND THIS AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE.

ON THE BASIS OF THE MOSCOW NEGOTIATIONS, THE GOVERNMENT IS ALREADY TAKING PRACTICAL STEPS IN THIS DIRECTION. EVEN TODAY, TONIGHT, SOME TROOPS ARE BEING REMOVED AND SOME AREAS AND BUILDINGS IN PRAGUE BEING EVACUATED. WORK IS GOING ON CONCERNING OTHER MEASURES IN THIS DIRECTION.

WE BEG YOU DEAR FELLOW CITIZENS TO HELP US TO PREVENT ANY PROVOCATIONS BY SOME ELEMENTS WHO ARE INTERESTED IN WORSENING THE SITUATION, WHICH IS IN ANY CASE VERY TENSE INDEED, AND WHICH ARE DIRECTED BY SOME PEOPLE AGAINST SOCIALISM. IN THIS PERIOD WE NEED ORDER. WE NEED DELIBERATE DISCIPLINE OF ALL OUR CITIZENS, ALL INHABITANTS OF OUR CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST FATHERLAND--EXACTLY AS IT HAS BEEN UP TO NOW.

WHO KNOWS? IN THE NEXT PHASE WE MIGHT NEED EVEN MUCH MORE OF THIS CONSCIOUSNESS. THERE WILL REALLY BE A LOT AT STAKE AND IT WILL DEPEND ON OUR ACTIONS, ON OUR WORK, ON HOW ALL OF YOU HELP TO PERFORM THIS WORK.

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION MOST SERIOUSLY (PASSAGE INDISTINCT) OF SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY AS HAS BEEN FORMULATED SINCE THE JANUARY PLENUM OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND DURING THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE PARTY'S EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS. THIS SUPPORT WILL STRENGTHEN US ALL THE MORE; IT WILL (?BE) MORE AN OBLIGATION FOR US NOT TO GIVE UP, IN THIS COMPLICATED TIME, OUR STRIVING FOR THE EXPRESSIONS OF HUMANIST AND SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES. THIS MIGHT SEEM LIKE A PARADOX. LET US NOT TALK ABOUT THIS JUST AT THIS TIME. BUT WE MUST HAVE FAITH IN OUR STRENGTH, FAITH IN OUR PEOPLE; BECAUSE ONLY IN UNITY, IN THE UNITY OF OUR COURSE, IN THE UNITY OF OUR DEEDS, CAN THE SUCCESS FOR OUR ENTIRE FURTHER POLICY BE INSURED.

(MORE)

27 AUG 1900Z JWG/BJK

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THIRD ADD 109 (DUBCEK SPEECH)

X X X POLICY BY INSURED.

(TEXT) WE ARE ALSO RETURNING TO OUR WORK WITH THE DETERMINATION TO CREATE CONDITIONS FOR CONTINUING WITH THIS POLICY, AS FAR AS POSSIBLE WITH THE LEAST MISTAKES. IT WILL NOT BE EASY, AND IT WILL THEREFORE BE NECESSARY TO EXERT MUCH EFFORT. SUCH IS THE REALITY, AND FROM THIS WE MUST EMBARK UPON OUR WORK. TO IGNORE THE REAL SITUATION COULD ONLY LEAD IN SOME PLACES TO ADVENTURES AND TO ANARCHY. AND THAT WOULD BE A BAD MANIFESTATION; IT WOULD BE BAD FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE IMPORTANT TASKS WITH WHICH WE ARE CONFRONTED.

YOU KNOW THAT THE NEW SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRY CONFRONTS US WITH FRESH QUESTIONS. THERE EXIST NEW ASPECTS. THE FIRST THING WE NEED IS, AS FAR AS POSSIBLE, THE QUICKEST CONSOLIDATION, NORMALIZATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY. I KNOW THAT IT WILL BE VERY COMPLICATED; BUT WE MUST UNDERSTAND IT AS THE FUNDAMENTAL CONDITION FOR FURTHER STEPS. FOR THIS VERY REASON WE TRUST THAT YOU WILL, IN THE SAME WAY AS YOU HAVE SUPPORTED US THUS FAR, ALSO ASSIST TODAY -- ON THE BASIS OF A REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION --(?WITH) YOUR CONFIDENCE AND ACTIVE PARTICIPATION, AND ALSO (?ASSIST) IN CASE WE HAVE TO CARRY OUT SOME TEMPORARY EXCEPTIONAL MEASURES RESTRICTING (WORD INDISTINCT) DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION THAT WE HAVE ALREADY ACHIEVED, AND WHICH IN A NORMAL SITUATION WE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO IMPLEMENT. BUT I ASK YOU TO DEEPLY UNDERSTAND THE TIME IN WHICH WE LIVE. THE GREATER THE SUPPORT YOU GIVE US, THE SOONER WE WILL BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE A NORMALIZATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE COUNTRY, THE SOONER WE WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE FURTHER STEPS ON OUR POST-JANUARY COURSE.

WE MUST SEEK THE ROAD TO A SOLUTION OF OUR PROBLEMS BY OURSELVES. WE RELY NOT ONLY ON OUR OWN STRENGTH, BUT ABOVE ALL ON YOUR STRENGTH, ON YOUR MORAL STRENGTH, ON YOUR CHARACTER, ON YOUR INDEPENDENT THINKING WHICH MUST RELY ON PRUDENCE, CIRCUMSPECTION, AND WHICH MUST PROCEED FROM THE REAL STATE OF AFFAIRS (SLOVAK: REALITA) WHICH HAS ARISEN IN OUR COUNTRY. THIS MUST NOT BE IGNORED. NOR ARE ACTIONS HELPFUL IN WHICH THE BROADCASTS OF SOME RADIO TRANSMITTERS PERTAINING TO THE SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, COMRADE SVOBODA, ARE SPREADING MISTRUST AND DOUBTS CONCERNING THE RESULTS OF THE MOSCOW NEGOTIATIONS AND CONCERNING THE MEASURES PREPARED TOWARD THE WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS.

I VERY URGENTLY WARN AGAINST SUCH ACTIONS. INFLAMMATORY WORDS ARE EASILY LAUNCHED INTO THE ETHER; BUT IT IS NECESSARY TO LINK THIS WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR FURTHER LOSS OF LIFE, FOR MATERIAL DAMAGE WHICH EVEN NOW IS FAR FROM SMALL. YOUR SUPPORT, CALMNESS, PRUDENCE, AND THE ACTIVITY OF PARTY ORGANS AT ALL LEVELS, AS WELL AS THE ACTIVITY OF THE FUNCTIONARIES OF THE PARTY AND OTHER MASS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THESE DAYS, HAVE CONFIRMED AFRESH THE EXPERIENCE WHICH WE HAD ALREADY GAINED SINCE JANUARY THIS YEAR. THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO BE IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE PEOPLE, TO SYSTEMATICALLY CONSULT WITH THEM, LEAN ON THEIR COMMONSENSE AND EXPERIENCE, PAY ATTENTION TO THEIR VIEWS AND (?SENSE) IN OUR POLICY. WE ALSO WANT TO HENCEFORTH PROCEED THIS WAY.

(MORE)

27 AUG. 1919Z JWB/BJK

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FBIS 123

FOURTH ADD 109 (DUBCEK SPEECH)

X X X PROCEED THIS WAY.

(TEXT) I KNOW THE IDEALS YOU STAND FOR. I KNOW THAT YOU WILL NEVER GIVE UP THE IDEAS OF SOCIALISM, HUMANISM, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, AND OUR CZECHOSLOVAK SOVEREIGNTY. I BELIEVE, AND I SAY THIS TO YOU ALL, THAT IN OUR LIFE WE CANNOT AND WILL NOT ACT DIFFERENTLY THAN TO WORK (ACCORDING) TO THE IDEALS OF OUR PEOPLE. WITH THIS IN MIND, I NEGOTIATED IN THE PAST FEW DAYS TOGETHER WITH THE OTHER COMRADES. WITH THIS IN MIND, I INTEND TO WORK FOR AND SERVE MY FATHERLAND IN THE DAYS TO COME.

THERE IS A GREAT NUMBER OF QUESTIONS FOR WHICH WE MUST SEEK AND FIND ANSWERS. YOU YOURSELVES KNOW BEST HOW MANY NEW AND FATEFUL QUESTIONS REMAIN AFTER THESE LAST WEEKS, FROM THE RESTORATION OF ORDER AND THE DEPARTURE OF THE ARMIES TO THE SOLUTION OF MANY PROBLEMS IN THE LIFE OF EACH OF US. ALL THIS DEMANDS REALLY WELL-CONSIDERED ANSWERS, AND THESE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. I ASSURE YOU THAT, TOGETHER WITH YOU, WE WANT TO THINK OVER OUR FURTHER ACTIONS IN THIS NEW SITUATION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AND, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, WE SHALL BEGIN TO GRADUALLY SOLVE THE MOST URGENT PROBLEMS.

PERMIT ME NOW TO SAY A FEW WORDS TO THE HONEST COMMUNISTS, MEMBERS, AND FUNCTIONARIES OF OUR PARTY.

COMRADES, ALL OF US, WHETHER WE WORK IN THE BASIC ORGANIZATIONS OR IN THE HIGHEST OFFICES OF THE PARTY, CAN SUCCEED ONLY IF THE WHOLE PARTY TRUSTS US AND IF THE PEOPLE HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE PARTY. WE HAVE AN ALL-THE-GREATER RESPONSIBILITY TO CARRY OUT IN OUR PRACTICAL POLICY ALL THAT IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE, EVEN IN THE PRESENT EXTRAORDINARY AND INCREDIBLY DIFFICULT CONDITIONS.

IT WOULD BE THE GREATEST DISASTER FOR THE PARTY IF ITS SOUND NUCLEUS, IF ALL THOSE FORCES THAT LED THE PATH OF THE POST-JANUARY POLICY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY TO SUCCESS WERE NOW TO FALL TO PIECES; IF A LACK OF CONFIDENCE WERE TO ARISE WITHIN THE SOUND FORCES OF THE PARTY. THIS WOULD INEVITABLY MEAN THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE ONLY FORCE CAPABLE OF LEADING OUR NATIONS OUT OF THEIR COMPLICATED SITUATION.

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WE WANT YOU, MEMBERS AND FUNCTIONARIES OF THE PARTY WHO WORKED AT HOME DURING THESE DAYS , TO UNDERSTAND THOSE OF US WHO NEGOTIATED AWAY FROM HOME. LET US TOGETHER DEAL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH ALL QUESTIONS THAT AROSE IN THESE EXTRAORDINARY AND (?DIFFICULT) CIRCUMSTANCES. I ASK ALL FUNCTIONARIES OF DISTRICT AND REGIONAL COMMITTEES AND BASIC ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY, ALL DELEGATES TO THE EXTRAORDINARY 14TH CONGRESS, AND ALL THOSE (?WHO ARE IN A DIFFERENT POWER SITUATION ) TO FULLY RESPECT THE PARTY WORK AND THE INSTRUCTIONS WHICH I SHALL ISSUE IN MY CAPACITY AS FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY. I MENTION THIS BECAUSE I SHALL HAVE TO DISCUSS WITH THE OTHER COMRADES WHO HAVE WORKED IN THE DISTRICTS, REGIONS, AND HERE AT THE CENTER THE FURTHER STEPS TO UNITE THE WORK OF ALL COMMUNISTS ON ALL LEVELS , (?INCLUDING THE ) COMMUNISTS WHO HAVE WORKED AT HOME, AND TO FURTHER IMPLEMENT THE POLICY OF OUR PARTY.

I ASSUME AT THE SAME TIME THE EXERCISE OF MY FUNCTION OF COMMANDER OF THE PEOPLE 'S MILITIA, WHICH IS PART OF THE TITLE AND FUNCTION ENTRUSTED TO ME. IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE WE SHALL SOLVE ALL NECESSARY QUESTIONS AT A MEETING OF THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DELEGATES TO THE 14TH CONGRESS.

WE MUST DISCUSS MATTERS WITH THOSE COMMUNISTS , WITH THOSE LEADING FUNCTIONARIES OF OUR PARTY WHO WORKED WHILE I, COMRADES , WAS UNABLE TO TAKE PART IN THE WORK OF OUR PARTY.

(MORE)

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FBIS 124

FIFTH ADD 109 (DUBCEK SPEECH )

X X X OF OUR PARTY .

(TEXT) I WANT TO STATE QUITE FRANKLY, TOO, THAT EXPERIENCES HAVE TAUGHT US A BITTER LESSON TO THE EFFECT THAT WE MUST CONDUCT OUR POLICY WITH DETERMINATION AND CONSISTENCY. WE ALSO MUST EVERYWHERE TAKE CARE TO SEE THAT THE PRESENT COMPLICATED SITUATION IS NOT TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF BY ELEMENTS AND TENDENCIES TO WHICH SOCIALISM IS ALIEN. WE SHALL GUARD (WORDS INDISTINCT) DECISIVELY AND CONSISTENTLY OUR SOCIALIST POLICY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

ESTEEMED LISTENERS, I ASK YOU TO FORGIVE ME IF HERE AND THERE, THERE IS A PAUSE IN THIS LARGELY IMPROVISED SPEECH AND IMPROMPTU APPEARANCE. I THINK YOU WILL UNDERSTAND HOW THIS (?CAME ABOUT ). (FOLLOWS ABOUT A 30-SECOND PAUSE--ED)

ALL OF US WHO NEGOTIATED IN MOSCOW DURING THE PAST DAYS ARE PROFOUNDLY GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR YOUR PRUDENT, GENUINELY COMMUNIST WORK. WITHOUT IT, IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE TO PREVENT AN AGGRAVATION OF THE SITUATION. IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN TRANSPORT AND , AT THE SAME TIME, TO MAINTAIN THE GENUINE MORAL AND POLITICAL UNITY OF OUR PEOPLE. IN PARTICULAR I WOULD LIKE TO THANK THE MEMBERS OF THE ARMY , THE PUBLIC SECURITY CORPS, AND THE PEOPLE 'S MILITIA FOR SHOWING SUCH HIGH MORALE , WHICH HELPED AVOID A GREAT CONFLICT. IT IS CORRECT TO PROCEED LIKE THIS IN THE FUTURE , TOO , TO PROCEED ACCORDING TO THE COMMAND OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.

(MORE)

27 AUG 1941Z BS/BJK

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15 125  
SIXTH AND LAST ADD (DUBCEK SPEECH)

XXX CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC .

(TEXT ) WE THANK YOU ALL, ALL OUR PEOPLE, FROM THE BOTTOM OF OUR HEARTS. I BELIEVE THAT YOUR CONFIDENCE POSES FOR ALL OF US AN OBLIGATION , AND THAT WE WILL NEVER IN OUR LIVES FORGET THIS OBLIGATION. WE WILL ALWAYS FEEL RESPONSIBILITY CONCERNING YOU FOR OUR ACTIONS. WE UNDERSTAND OUR WORK ONLY AS A SERVICE TO OUR PEOPLE, A SERVICE TO OUR HOMELAND, TO OUR CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST HOMELAND. WE ALL KNOW TODAY THAT THE FURTHER COURSE WILL NOT BE EASY, THAT IT WILL BE COMPLICATED--THAT IT WILL BE MORE COMPLICATED AND ALSO LONGER THAN WE THOUGHT SOME TIME AS REGARDS THE FULFILLMENT OF THE ACTION PROGRAM. BUT WHICHEVER WAY LIFE LEADS, TODAY TOO, AT THE PRESENT TIME , WE MUST KEEP IN MIND THAT WE MUST IN THE FUTURE PERIOD EXAMINE HOW TO FULFILL THE INTENTIONS OF OUR POST-JANUARY POLICY, HOW TO FULFILL IN THIS NEW SITUATION AND NEW CONDITIONS THE PROGRAM OF OUR COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA , THE PROGRAM WHICH WE ESPOUSED IN JANUARY, APRIL, AND IN OTHER MEASURES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THIS IS NOT EVEN POSSIBLE OTHERWISE IN THE NEXT PERIOD . WE STOOD ON THIS POSITION , AND WE STAND ON IT TODAY; AND WE WILL START FROM THIS POLICY OF OURS IN THE NEXT PERIOD.

THE NATION , OUR PEOPLE, BELONGS TO THE COMMUNITY OF SOCIALIST NATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES. WE BELIEVE THAT IN SPITE OF EVERYTHING WHICH HAS HAPPENED, WHICH WE ARE LIVING THROUGH TODAY , THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR NATIONS AND THE NATIONS OF OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WILL BE ARRANGED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO BE IN HARMONY WITH THIS REALITY. I CANNOT EVEN EXPRESS THIS IS ANY OTHER WAY, FOR THE VERY REASON THAT OUR NATIONS --THE CZECHS AND SLOVAKS--ARE OF A PROFOUNDLY HUMANE DISPOSITION. THEY ARE PEOPLE WITH INTERNATIONAL FEELINGS , AND THEREFORE, IN THE RELATIONS WITH THE NATIONS OF OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS THE NATIONS , THE PEOPLE , THE WORKING PEOPLE IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES, THEY FEEL INTERNATIONAL BONDS--BONDS WHICH WE MUST NOT ABANDON BECAUSE WE WILL BE WORKING NOT ONLY TODAY , BUT TOMORROW TOO. AND THE RELATIONS IN THIS RESPECT WILL CERTAINLY BE AIMED AT DRAWING CLOSER WITH THESE NATIONS--ARRANGING RELATIONS IN SUCH A WAY AS TO BE IN HARMONY WITH AND CORRESPONDING TO THE REALITY THAT OUR NATIONS ARE SOCIALIST NATIONS.

I BEG YOU NOT TO ALLOW ANY PROVOCATIONS ; DO NOT LET PANIC ENTER OUR RANKS. IN THIS DIFFICULT SITUATION THERE IS NOTHING LEFT FOR US BUT TO EXERT ALL OUR STRENGTH , OUR REASON , IN ORDER TO TRULY BE ABLE TO CARRY OUT OUR FUTURE WORK ( ?IN A ) NATION IN WHICH EVERYONE WILL BE GUIDED BY REASON AND CONSCIENCE ( ?AND WHICH ) WILL NOT PERISH. I ASK YOU, MY DEAR FELLOW CITIZENS, CZECHS AND SLOVAKS, COMMUNISTS , AND MEMBERS OF THE OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE NATIONAL FRONT ; I ASK ALL THE WORKERS , FARMERS; I ASK OUR INTELLIGENTSIA, ALL OUR PEOPLE : LET US REMAIN UNITED , CALM, AND CHIEFLY PRUDENT. LET US REALIZE THAT ONLY OUR LOYALTY TO SOCIALISM , OUR HONOR, OUR ENDEAVORS , AND OUR FIRM CHARACTER CAN GUARANTEE OUR ROAD FORWARD.

(ENDALL)

27 AUG 1947Z JWG/TRW

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